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ABSTRACT

Professional development and inservice education may be too readily equated. Professional development is an individual process influenced more pervasively by administrative and contextual features of the educational system within which teachers work than it is by the particular forms of inservice education available. Using this concept of teacher development, "portrayals" are presented of two experienced, innovative secondary humanities teachers. In-depth interviews were conducted, during which the subjects were asked to describe how they became teachers and what experiences had influenced them most during their lives. They were encouraged to include personal and intimate information if they wished and to reflect analytically on their careers. The profile of each teacher is drawn from the substance of the interviews, and the usefulness and validity of this type of research is considered. (JD)

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PORTRAYALS OF TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

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The purpose of this paper is to present an approach we are developing for describing the career biographies of individual teachers. We use 'portrayals' (see Stake, 1972) of two experienced, innovative secondary Humanities teachers as a means of exploring the nature of professional development and the personal and contextual conditions that bear upon it.

There are a number of reasons why we have taken on this particular area of research. Firstly, out of interest in the potential of the research method itself which is a variation on the repertory grid technique developed by George Kelly for use in elaborating his theory of personal constructs. Secondly, because of our interest in the extensive research literature which has developed over recent years in association with the curriculum reform movement; that is, centrally directed attempts to develop and disseminate curricular and pedagogical innovations. Thirdly, and related to this is our interest in the in-service education of teachers, an area which has received increased emphasis in recent years.

The literature in this area has tended to concentrate on the form of in-service education provision, the development and evaluation of particular strategies and methods for example, rather than on understanding the substance or nature of professional development which this provision is presumed to further. Foreshadowing one of the implications that we draw from these case histories, it seems important to remember that professional development is an individual process influenced more pervasively by administrative and contextual features of the educational system within

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which teachers work than it is by the particular forms of in-service education available. Professional development and in-service education may be too readily equated. Consequently current trends in Australia, as illustrated by the recent Report of the National Enquiry into Teacher Education (1980), to rationalize, institutionalize and credentialize in-service education may falter to the degree that such pervasive conditions in the educational system which affect a commitment to professional growth on the part of the individual remain unaltered.

There appear to have been few research studies which have attempted to describe through career histories those conditions and contexts which are conducive to a teacher's experience of professional and personal growth. Sociologists such as Waller, Becker and Hargreaves have approached the topic using the notion of socialization to describe the occupational cuture of teachers. Their interest has been in the general question, "what does any occupation do to the human beings that follow it?" Hargreaves points out that studies of the socialization of teachers have generally been confined to the early stages of a teacher's career, particularly the transition from training to the practice of teaching. Neglect of the occupational culture of teachers "has led us to underestimate the significance of the teachers' culture as a medium through which many innovations and reforms must pass" (Hargreaves, 1980, p.126). Using ethnographic and observational studies of classrooms and staffrooms by such people as Hammersley (1975), Woods (1979), Jackson (1968), and survey studies such as the classic by Lortie (1975), Hargreaves develops three major themes which represent the abiding interests, concerns, problems, and experiences of teachers. The occupational culture of teachers (what teaching does to teachers) he sees as characterised by concern with status, anxieties about expertise and competence, and a powerful cult of individualism or 'live and let live' which is expressed as an acute sensitivity to observation whilst teaching.

These studies make a valuable contribution to understanding the relatively stable, experiential dilemmas inherent in the job which influence a teacher's vocational self-construct. Apart from Lortie's study, however, they do not provide retrospective analysis of the experiences which develop and modify this construct of "me as a teacher" during teaching careers.

The important contribution which psychology might make to conceptualising teacher development appears to be under-explored at present. According to Heath (1979), who has argued for viewing the development of teachers from the perspective of "psychological maturity",

> To understand the continuing professional development of a teacher requires a model of how healthily functioning adults continue to grow throughout their occupational lines. Psychology, still overly preoccupied with children and adolescents, cannot yet provide such a general model.

The need to understand the nature of teacher development has been highlighted particularly by research in education indicating that the dissemination and implementation of educational innovations are processes of much greater complexity and difficulty than originally anticipated. House (1979) provides a survey of the changing research perspectives on educational innovation which have been used over the past decade. Initial assumptions that new content and materials would make their own way into the educational system proved overly optimistic. More systematic and rational approaches such as the "Research, Development and Diffusion Model" of innovation were developed (Clark & Guba, 1965). The innovation process was conceived in terms of a technological process with functions and components that could more efficiently manage the transfer of the innovation from developers to users, but problems remained, particularly at the stage of implementation. Experience in applying R.D. & D. or 'centre-periphery' models of change "clearly brought out the difficulties of assuming that

potential users of materials are prepared passively to accept what is offered them from the centre, rationally to follow the recommended procedures, and successfully to implement the proposed design" (Becher, 1972, p.5).

House describes more recent research studies into the problems of innovation in terms of a shift towards emphasising the political and cultural contexts or networks within which innovations are advocated, conveyed, adopted and adapted. While accepting House's analysis of the changing research emphasis, we prefer to construe the same literature as indicating a shift from models for the transmission of innovation to models for the development of teachers. What these studies have highlighted is that a crucial condition for curriculum innovation is the process of teacher development itself. Models of innovation, whether they are technological, political or cultural, still tend to focus on the innovation as an 'object' or 'message' and its transmission, either in technical, (from developers to users), political (from one advocacy group to another), or cultural terms (from the culture of the developers to the culture of the school or teacher). What is also needed is a complementary model of teacher development in which the process of directed change is related to the individual teacher's commitment to professional development and the occupational culture of teachers.

There are a number of research studies that appear relevant to developing such a model. They can be mentioned only briefly here. Elliott and Adelman (1976) have used their experience in the Ford Teaching Project in the U.K. to develop a number of propositions about how teachers learn greater self and situational awareness. These were derived from trying to involve teachers in action research into the problems of developing inquiry/discovery teaching methods. Doyle and Ponder (1977) have developed a conceptual framework for understanding the way teachers react to change

proposals using the notion of a 'practicality-ethic'. This concerns the criteria which teachers appear to bring to bear in evaluating the perceived attributes of innovations: instrumentality, congruence and cost. This work seems to be closely related to the occupational-culture studies mentioned earlier. The Rand Corporation studies (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975) which elucidated the notion of 'mutual adaptation' in the process of implementing new practices also seems relevant. It is related to the 'research model' of curriculum development of Stenhouse (1975) which is predicated on a process of teacher development. Hall's (1978) research into the concerns of teachers involved in the process of implementing innovations is also highly relevant.

The studies listed above have generally focused on the process of change with respect to particular curricular innovations (e.g. inquiry/discovery pedagogy; primary science). Within this field of curriculum research there is an important distinction in the assumptions underlying the relationship between teacher development and the development of curricular and pedagogical theory. (Fullan and Pomfret (1977) develop a similar distinction in their comprehensive review of research into implementation problems between a 'fidelity' perspective and the 'process' or 'mutual adaptation' perspective). Studies such as Hall's assume prior research and development of theoretical knowledge about teaching and an 'application of theory' role for teachers. Others, such as Elliott and Stenhouse, have developed the position that theoretical propositions about teaching practices arise from the analysis of practice and a 'development and testing of theory' role for teachers. These are quite different answers to the question 'how do teachers learn to act more intelligently?'

In this paper the focus of our interest is the wider context and process of development during a teacher's career (within which, of course,

particular planned influences such as curriculum innovation and in-service education play an (indeterminate) part. We wish to explore the potential of portrayals of teachers' careers for enabling us to construct the phenomenological life-world as seen and experienced by teachers themselves.

METHOD

Subjects

The two subjects described here were chosen because both were mid-career, senior teachers and because both were regarded by administrators and other teachers as very competent and innovative. One was working-class in social origin, and had attended an academically selective State high school. The other, from an 'affluent but culturally barren' family had attended a private school. Both graduated in the mid-sixties from the same university and both teach the same subject, Humanities. Finally, both were active in In-service schemes, the Humanities Teachers Association, and the Departmental Secondary Humanities Committee. This was important to the study because we were interested in the part played by such 'networks' in the development of teachers and in changing views of Humanities teaching held in 'good currency'. We intend later to work with teachers of the same subject who have remained outside such networks during their careers.

Procedure

In an initial interview the two teachers were told that the research project focussed on their development as teachers. The interviewer explained that he wanted them to think back over their career as teachers and describe as frankly and openly as possible how they became teachers and what experiences had influenced them most during their lives. Both teachers understood that they were able to include personal and intimate information

if they wished. The initial interview therefore was loosely structured and dealt with the details of each teacher's personal history, the significant influences, i.e., school settings, people, projects, etc. and with how each saw school life and the job of being teachers, now, and in the future.

Each interview was then analysed and every place, person, or event of any significance, e.g., myself teaching at high school, was extracted, as were all the important descriptive statements, e.g., aiming at the first rate.

The places, persons, and events formed the elements (columns) in a large repertory grid matrix and the descriptive statements formed the constructs (rows). (See Appendix I.) Once these two lists had been formed the two teachers checked to see if anything significant had been omitted or anything trivial included. The matrix for David had 61 elements and 48 constructs, and the matrix for Jim 61 elements and 53 constructs. Each teacher checked every construct against every element, checking 0 for true, 2 for not true and 1 if the construct had no relevance to the element. Thus, the construct "worrying" could be checked as true (0) for the element 'my job at high school', or as not true (2), or as simply an irrelevant way of talking about the "job at high school".

The completed matrices were analysed singly using Ingrid, a programme which performed two principal components factor analyses, one on the elements and the other on the construct. These two analyses were performed so that the factor loadings may be plotted in the same Euclidean space, the relationship between elements and constructs being angular so that the smaller the angle from the origin the more closely related any given elements may be to any given construct (Slater, 1978). In this study these analyses were not used strictly to extract and name dimensions, but to obtain a number of clusters of elements and constructs which might significantly structure the teachers' view of themselves and their careers.

However, the first two dimensions accounted for 31.8% and 9.5% of variance for David and 31.3% and 8.3% for Jim.

All the loadings for the elements and constructs were then plotted and labelled on the first two dimensions and the plots were shown to each teacher in a second interview. This was completely free in that, after an initial explanation of how elements and constructs were related, the teacher was simply invited to talk about why he thought the clusters were as they were or ought to be different. Both teachers found this interview to be a soul searching exercise and volunteered a great deal of background information.

The elements and constructs in each cluster were located in the transcript of the interviews and the appropriate passages were then used to form the portrayals.

INTERPRETING THE CLUSTERS

The matrix for Jim is presented in Fig. 1. Cluster 1 Jim agreed accurately described himself as a student and at Rural technical school as liking to provoke. Cluster 2 located himself as a teacher, although his ideal in teaching (Cluster 3) is situated well away from this cluster and really defines for Jim the competent, aware, gifted, professional people in education. His wife is put in this category. Cluster 4 on the contrary describes all that is bad about being a teacher, such as The Department, H.S.C., Inservice, etc.. The descriptive terms for this cluster lie in Clusters 5 which indicate how Jim feels about the school system (e.g. stupid in many ways; needs to be revamped) and Cluster 6 which he thought described the people in the system (e.g., arrogant, disciplinarian, etc.) Clusters 7 and 8 both contain only constructs and indicate how Jim feels now about being a teacher, i.e., knowing how to influence children in a positive rewarding way (Cluster 7), but feeling tired and disillusioned about how

FIGURE 1

JIM

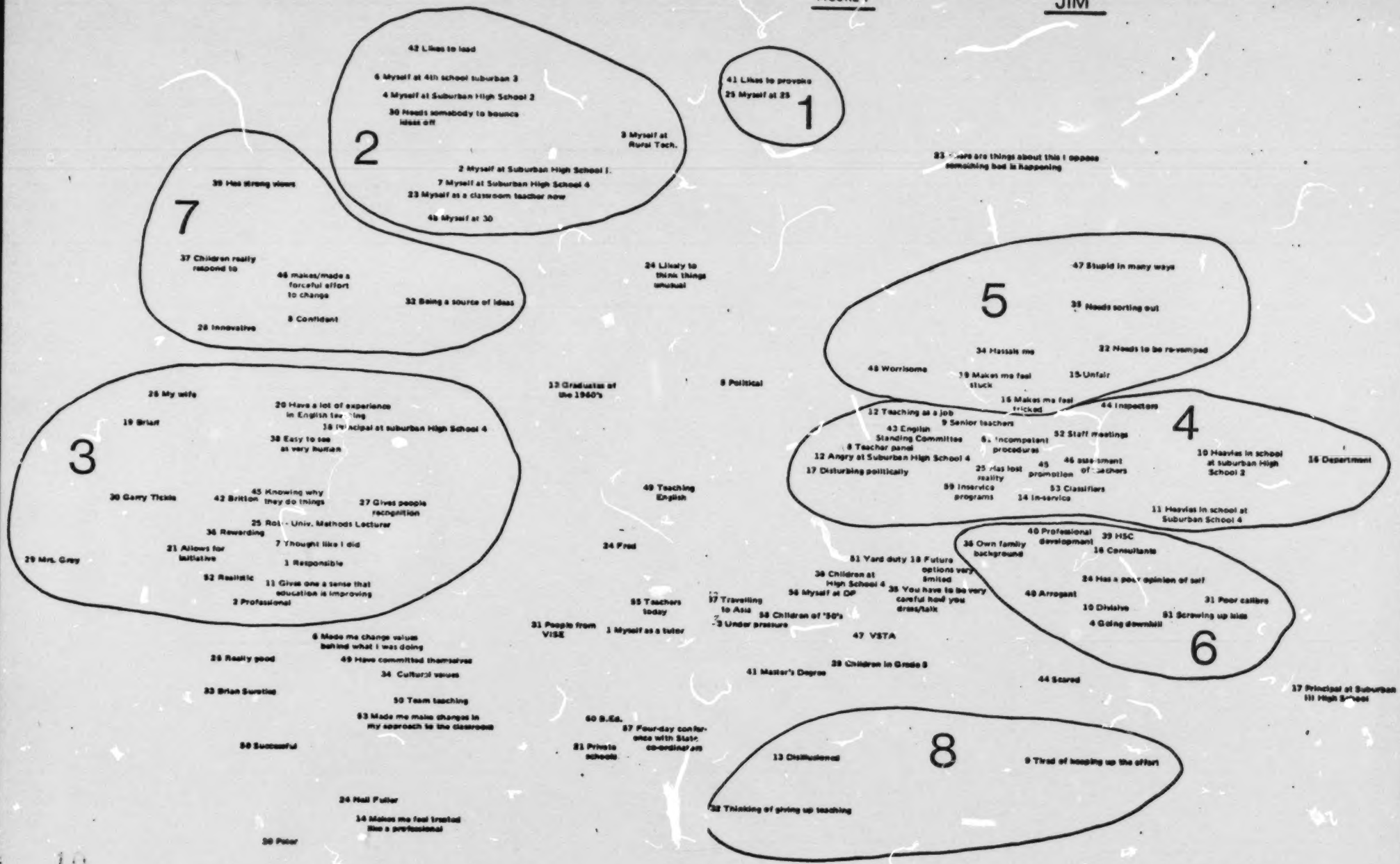
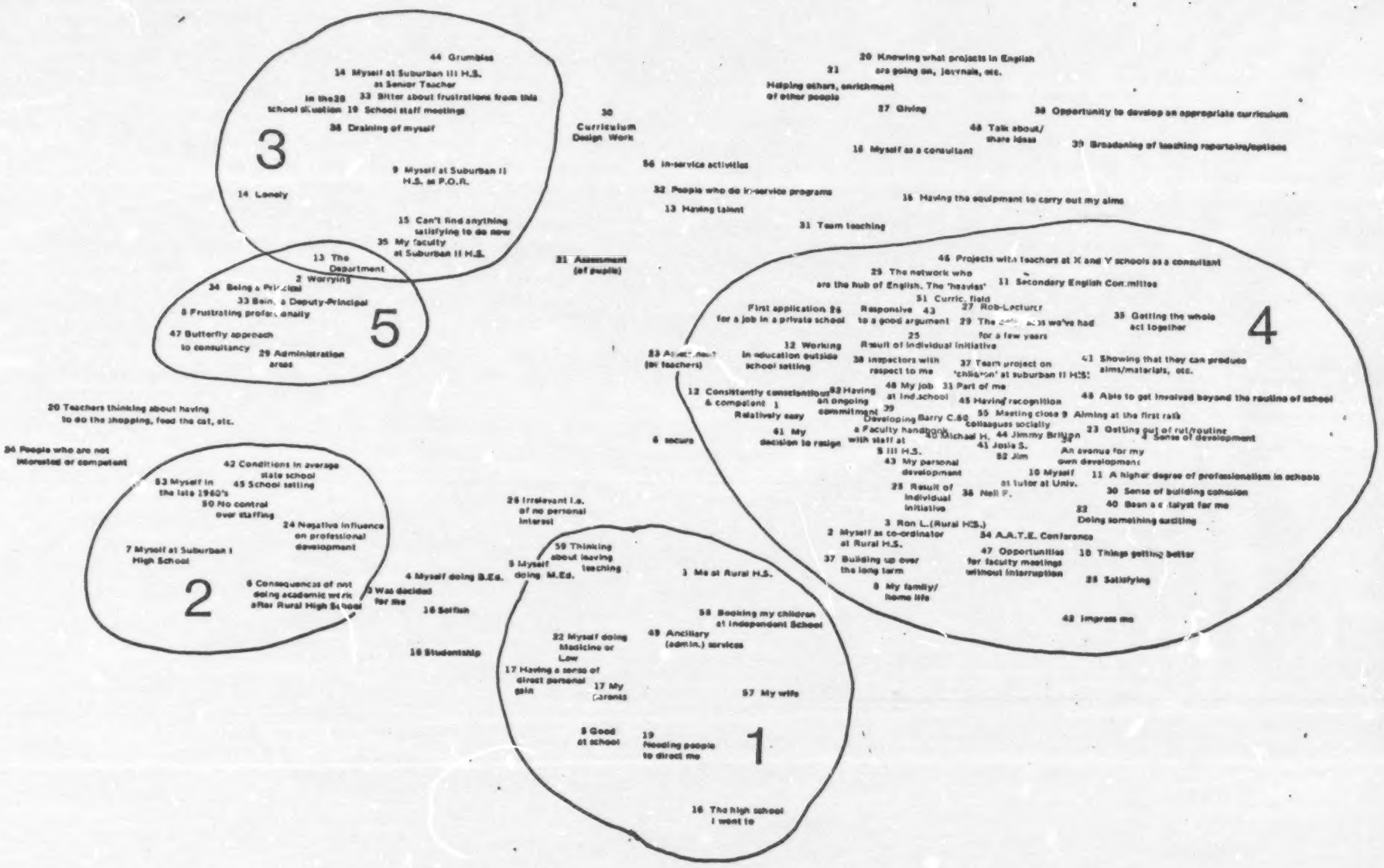

1
41 Likes to provoke
25 Myself at 25
2
42 Likes to lead
6 Myself at 4th school suburban 3
4 Myself at Suburban High School 2
30 Needs somebody to bounce ideas off
3 Myself at Rural Tech.
2 Myself at Suburban High School 1.
7 Myself at Suburban High School 6
23 Myself as a classroom teacher now
48 Myself at 30
3
28 My wife
19 Brian
20 Have a lot of experience in English teaching
18 Principal at suburban High School 4
38 Easy to see as very human
30 Garry Tickle
42 Britton
45 Knowing why they do things
27 Gives people recognition
25 Rob - Univ. Methods Lecturer
36 Rewarding
7 Thought like I did
21 Allows for initiative
29 Mrs. Grey
1 Responsible
32 Realistic
11 Gives one a sense that education is improving
2 Professional
4
47 Stupid in many ways
39 Needs sorting out
34 Hassels me
22 Needs to be re-vamped
48 Worrisome
19 Makes me feel stuck
15 Unfair
16 Makes me feel tricked
44 Inspectors
12 Teaching as a job
9 Senior teachers
43 English Standing Committee
52 Staff meetings
8 Teacher panel
6 Incompetent procedures
12 Angry at Suburban High School 4
17 Disturbing politically
25 Has lost reality
45 promotion
46 assessment of teachers
10 Heavies in school at suburban High School 2
16 Department
59 Inservice programs
53 Classifiers
14 In-service
11 Heavies in school at Suburban School 4
5
33 There are things about this I oppose something bad is happening
24 Likely to think things unusual
13 Graduates of the 1960's
8 Political
49 Teaching English
24 Fred
55 Teachers today
17 Travelling to Asia
58 Children of '50's
3 Under pressure
31 People from VISE
1 Myself as a tutor
6 Made me change values behind what I was doing
26 Really good
49 Have committed themselves
34 Cultural values
33 Brian Surette
50 Team teaching
53 Made me make changes in my approach to the classroom
60 B.Ed.
57 Four-day conference with State co-ordinator
51 Private schools
24 Neil Fuller
14 Makes me feel treated like a professional
28 Peter
6
40 Professional development
39 HSC
36 Own family background
16 Consultants
51 Yard duty
18 Future options very limited
24 Has a poor opinion of self
38 Children at High School 4
56 Myself at DP
35 You have to be very careful how you dress/talk
40 Arrogant
31 Poor calibre
10 Divisive
61 Screwing up kids
4 Going downhill
47 VSTA
39 Children in Grade 8
41 Master's Degree
44 Scared
37 Principal at Suburban III High School
7
39 Has strong views
37 Children really respond to
46 makes/made a forceful effort to change
32 Being a source of ideas
8 Confident
26 Innovative
8
13 Disillusioned
9 Tired of keeping up the effort
22 Thinking of giving up teaching

FIGURE 2

DAVID


3
44 Grumbles
14 Myself at Suburban III H.S. as Senior Teacher
In the28 33 Bitter about frustrations from this school situation 19 School staff meetings
38 Draining of myself
9 Myself at Suburban II H.S. as P.O.R.
14 Lonely
15 Can't find anything satisfying to do now
35 My faculty at Suburban II H.S.
30 Curriculum Design Work
5
13 The Department
2 Worrying
34 Being a Principal
33 Being a Deputy-Principal
8 Frustrating professionally
47 Butterfly approach to consultancy
29 Administration areas
31 Assessment (of pupils)
20 Knowing what projects in English are going on, journals, etc.
21
Helping others, enrichment of other people
37 Giving
48 Talk about/ share ideas
36 Opportunity to develop an appropriate curriculum
39 Broadening of teaching repertoire/options
18 Myself as a consultant
56 In-service activities
32 People who do in-service programs
16 Having the equipment to carry out my aims
13 Having talent
31 Team teaching
4
46 Projects with teachers at X and Y schools as a consultant
25 The network who are the hub of English. The 'heavies'
11 Secondary English Committee
51 Curric. field
First application 26 for a job in a private school
Responsive 43 to a good argument
27 Rob-Lecturer
29 The [illegible] we've had for a few years
35 Getting the whole act together
25 Result of individual initiative
12 Working in education outside school setting
38 Inspectors with respect to me
37 Team project on 'children' at suburban II HS
41 Showing that they can produce aims/materials, etc.
33 Assessment (for teachers)
12 Consistently consistentious & competent 1 Relatively easy
32 Having an ongoing commitment
48 My job at Ind.school
31 Part of me
45 Having recognition
48 Able to get involved beyond the routine of school
39 Developing a Faculty handbook with staff at S III H.S.
Barry C.&S
55 Meeting close colleagues socially
9 Aiming at the first rate
23 Getting out of rut/routine
4 Sense of development
61 My decision to resign
6 Secure
40 Michael H.
44 Jimmy Britton
41 Josie S.
52 Jim
24 An avenue for my own development
43 My personal development
10 Myself at tutor at Univ.
11 A higher degree of professionalism in schools
28 Result of individual initiative
36 Neil P.
30 Sense of building cohesion
40 Been a catalyst for me
3 Ron L.(Rural HS.)
22 Doing something exciting
2 Myself as co-ordinator at Rural H.S.
34 A.A.T.E. Conference
37 Building up over the long term
47 Opportunities for faculty meetings without interruption
18 Things getting better
8 My family/ home life
28 Satisfying
42 Impress me
20 Teachers thinking about having to do the shopping, feed the cat, etc.
24 People who are not interested or competent
2
42 Conditions in average State school
53 Myself in the late 1960's
45 School setting
50 No control over staffing
24 Negative influence on professional development
7 Myself at Suburban I High School
6 Consequences of not doing academic work after Rural High School
4 Myself doing B.Ed.
3 Was decided for me
16 Selfish
18 Studentship
26 Irrelevant i.e. of no personal interest
59 Thinking about leaving teaching
5 Myself doing M.Ed.
1
1 Me at Rural H.S.
58 Booking my children at Independent School
49 Ancillary (admin.) services
22 Myself doing Medicine or Law
17 Having a sense of direct personal gain
17 My parents
57 My wife
8 Good at school
19 Needing people to direct me
16 The high school I went to

hard it was to keep up the effort of being a professional teacher in a system which he feels is fundamentally bad.

The matrix for David is presented in Figure 2. The clusters clearly describe David's development as a teacher and he discussed them very articulately. Cluster 1 describes David as drifting into teaching because his parents wanted him to and because it was financially safe. This cluster included his first job. Cluster 2 then describes how he felt in his second job; incompetent, naive, unprofessional. In Cluster 3 he moved to a third and fourth job still in the State school system but trying to develop himself at the same time. He did this by becoming a methods tutor at a university part-time and beginning to mix with enthusiastic, talented educationalists whose ideas he began to develop (Cluster 4). This cluster then represented for David himself as a professional teacher. He describes his desire for a feeling of 'getting the whole act together'. With his move to a fourth high school, he had to drop the methods tutor position, but accepted a part-time consultancy position in the Region in addition to being in charge of Humanities in his own school. While finding a few consultancy experiences valuable it tended to cut him off from sources of ideas and he describes the task as 'draining of himself'. Cluster 5 clearly describes the future options which represent for David the antithesis of himself as a teacher. He therefore looked outside the State school system and between the first and second interviews he moved to a private school. He was happy and satisfied that his job there fitted with the ideals located in Cluster 4. This school he put centrally in Cluster 4.

PORTRAYALS OF JIM AND DAVID

Jim began his teaching career as a student at university in 1967. He describes himself in his early 20s as 'liking to provoke' (cf. Fig. 1, Cluster 1). As a member of the university Labour Club he had absorbed

radical views about education and its institutuons. Along with his friends he was out to change the system. He spoke romantically about this period in the second interview.

> 'We were literally telling the VSTA how to start organizing itself for a change and we hit it hard. We hit the schools hard too and were dissatisfied with lots of things. It all happened because we walked straight out of the training grounds at university Labour Club where we knew what to do. People who had weapons hidden on campus are not going to be worried about school principals' (II, p.22).

At the same time he was full of uncertainty and searching for cultural values. He regarded it as fortunate that he came into contact with an academic who made an enormous impact on him.

> 'Brian Sureties introduced me, a number of us, to cultural values (Bantock, Lewis, etc.), the idea that perhaps there is a certain way of life, or certain values that people should get hold of that are more important. That was a revolution for me, it made me rethink, not my actual teaching but the values that lay behind what I was doing' (I, pp.22-23).

So he 'forced' himself to acquire highbrow interests, to develop himself as a person.

After his first job at a country technical school (cf. Fig. 1, Cluster 2) Jim met Mrs Grey (at Suburban I High School, c.f. Fig. 1, Cluster 2) a senior teacher in her late forties who obviously liked him. She was warm, open, and encouraging, a mother-substitute for Jim. Ten years later he is still in touch with her now promoted to Deputy Director of a country region, and affectionately describes her as creating a good atmosphere, and as knowing classroom problems intimately. He sees Mrs Grey, the Methods Lecturer Rob (supervising his M.Ed.), and his colleague Gerry Tickle as immensely important in his development. They all had initiative, clear ideas about teaching and a sense that educational techniques were improving (cf. Fig. 1, Cluster 3).

After a year at Suburban I Jim moved to Suburban II and then Suburban III high schools (cf. Fig. 1, Cluster 2). This was a satisfying period in his career.

> 'I think probably for me personally the best teaching I did was at these two schools and the people I was working with were the best teachers because they thought like I did about things like assessment, marks, grades' (I, p.2).

Early in his teaching career then, Jim realised that he needed to feel personally involved with other teachers. In our second interview with him he repeatedly emphasized the importance of personal relationships.

> 'In your opinions about whether you're happy at school, you sort of have personal relationships which develop with the people you're working with. If you're working with somebody who's got a very warm responsive environment, then you know that they're not going to be at you for incompetence nor feeling aggro against you when you are trying to work together' (II, p.11).

But Jim really means more than feeling that he is part of a team, he means professional intimacy. A personal relationship

> '... just happens and it fires really well when it does, it happened at Suburban II with a particular person, it happened at Suburban III where there were a couple of people I was working with .... I mean I've sat on committees when you've got this strong relationship going with someone and you know that you can feed them lines and they sort of work well, it'll just go it'll gel, because you've broken through a language barrier' (II, p.13).

Perhaps Jim's insistence on the personal in teaching in fact reflects his view of the Education Department (Fig. 1, Cluster 4) which he sees in a very negative light. (Fig 1, Clusters 4 and 5) He feels that it is bureaucratic, in need of reorganization but most of all unfair in the way it operates. The people who control it are he thinks arrogant, divisive and of poor calibre. The result is incompetence and irresponsibility on a wide scale in the schools. Probably from the beginning of his career Jim was not prepared to work with the system and could only relate to it contemptuously and rebelliously. Throughout the two interviews he repeatedly insisted that the Education Department did not respect teachers as competent professional people, but treated them impersonally as unimportant employees. In contrast to this he clearly saw himself as genuinely concerned about others, both teachers and children. Jim really likes children:

> '... in teaching, my children aren't customers, they are people and we somehow form a relationship, be it only for five hours a week, but still, it is a friendship' (II, pp.17-18).

And he freely elaborated on the contrast between the institutional approach to children in schools and his own.

> 'I don't understand how people like DPs and Principals can do that sort of job, dealing with parents and the Department. Really the only kids they meet are the baddies, the naughty ones, or the very, very good ones and their view of school life is therefore twisted. The thought, to me, of walking down a corridor is really nice, you're getting stroked, but you need to be stroked a lot and children stroke you a lot' (II, p.19).

At this point we seem to be at the core of Jim's approach to teaching. His guiding assumption is that if teachers are innovative, confident, energetic, and treat children personally, then pupils will respond by learning creatively and by forming warm and friendly relationships with their teachers. After 12 years of teaching Jim felt that he was still a teacher because his approach was truly satisfying. He had nevertheless reached or was approaching a real crisis. Could he keep up his opposition to the system? He described himself now as disillusioned, tired of keeping up the effort, as thinking of giving up teaching, as not having the appetite for fighting battles anymore.

> 'I'm getting sick and tired of continually having to keep it up. I mean, I've been teaching for 12 years and I'm still arguing about the value or otherwise of examinations for students in Humanities' (I, p.3).

Jim is really asking himself, 'What strategies can one adopt in a system which has no ideals, no policies, and no humaneness about it, but is fragmented, critical and basically expedient in all its operations?' His first solution was to fight to subvert and destroy the system. His present state of mind indicates that he is helpless and impotent.

It is surprising that he has kept up the fight for so long, but it is not surprising that he admits to serious personal problems. These problems were thrown into relief by his relationship to his wife. He described her as shaping a brilliant career for herself in education.

> 'She's probably more successful than I am at enjoying things. She's a brilliant teacher. She's able to get involved in lots of areas of curriculum development, far more easily than I can. I don't think that she has the personality problems that I might have' (I, p.11).

Although both Jim and his wife are involved in education, they do not discuss school topics, but rather try to keep their professional identities distinct. Although quite understandable, this attitude contrasts sharply with his insistence that mutual understanding and intuition when it exists between teachers, is the life blood of teaching for him. Also it cannot have escaped his notice that his wife successfully works the system while he does not. He either will have to quit teaching or come to terms with the system. The system in practice involves human relationships, not ideologies. In our second interview Jim shows signs of realizing this

> 'It's to do with people. I sort of find it all the time. The biggest problem is to do with people and getting on with people and that's what I'm trying to do more of' (II, p.21).

He is still however somewhat escapist, while appearing to ask himself whether there is a realistic alternative to teaching for him.

> 'The Department recently has made the offer that I can get double long service leave on half pay. I'll be taking it. I will be disappearing to New York. New York is where I want to go. That's where people are, the biggest concentration of people and that's where I want to go. It's got nothing to do with school and teachers' (II, p.20).

This was as clear a statement as one will get that Jim is personally quite lost. He does not fit into the school system, but nevertheless emphasizes that he likes teaching.

David drifted into teaching. He attended a selective Melbourne high school, was a good student and was very happy with his education. Nevertheless he developed no strong interest in a particular career. His parents were keen on his becoming a teacher. He could have done medicine or law, but balked at the personal sacrifices involved. The State studentship system offered him a secure, comfortable opportunity and he took it. An important factor in David's attitude towards himself is a sense of the cost of taking the easy way early in his career.

> I've always had regrets, I think. One wonders whether one has reached professional potential, whether these things (i.e. law or medicine) would have been more enriching, rewarding. I'd swing to that school of thought when I found the school setting very unrewarding, unenriching' (II, p.3).

Quite clearly for David being a professional teacher has to compare with being a lawyer or a doctor and equally clearly in present day society this is just not so. The people, places, and comments forming Cluster 1 (cf. Fig. 2) all reflect this basic feeling of having taken the soft option in life with an underlying dissatisfaction at having done so. He said of his first school, a country high school,

> 'I think you have to remember that me at Rural High was a fairly mindless sort of me, having an enjoyable time, not all that sensitive to professional development' (II, p.12).

(David inserted the following remark here.

> "I found capable/sound teaching easy. There were some signs of a searching for 'better teaching'".)

He was precipitated into a personal crisis by events which took place at his second school. (Cf. Fig. 2, Cluster 2)

> 'I can remember one of the key contributing factors was that at Suburban I High School there was a fellow who was regarded as the doyen of Humanities teachers, he had a Ph.D. and always got excellent results and so on. He had one Humanities class and I had the other and a sense of inferiority set in and concern about whether I could cope and the like and I wasn't coping ....' (II, p.13)

He realized that he did not have a clear view of how to go about being an efficient teacher in terms of his own high standards. As a result of this David's health broke down, however he responded to the crisis by moving schools, then trying to get out of being in school and finally and positively by improving his knowledge and skill of teaching. He became a part-time tutor in the Education Faculty of a university and then a consultant to teachers. David now saw two things clearly, the unattractiveness of the State school system and that there were people who, for him, were valuable and helpful sources of ideas about education. These people he met and read about at university.

'... being involved in Method tutoring first of all gave me time to read, secondly it gave me people who could direct me towards some of the worthwhile things to read, i.e., other tutors and Rob (the Methods Lecturer), thirdly it put me in a position where I had to read and had to internalize it and work with Dip. Ed. students and assist them, so that my preparation for them was in fact more valuable for me than it was for them. I was very much aware of it through those three years and of the enormous professional growth' (I, p.8.).

The comments in Cluster 4 (Fig. 2) show very clearly that David became a professional educationalist as well as a competent teacher. He was 'getting the whole act together', which meant being sensitive to new ideas, techniques, assumptions about teaching, knowing where to get material to feed his need for development, knowing how to show flair and initiative, being able to communicate with others, and set in train projects which stimulated and excited other teachers. In short David's ideal of being truly professional, a concept loaded with status implications for him, was becoming a realistic prospect. At the same time he knew that this was not possible within the State school system, basically because it seemed to him to be run down, full of uninterested teachers and children. He put it eloquently:

Interviewer: 'What sort of physical conditions do you mean? Noisy rooms, no carpets?'

David: 'Yeah, just messy rooms that are dirty, spouting that is hanging down and the rain pours down, concrete walls with graffiti on them, lunch bags left all over the place. It depressed me very much. For example whenever I was on duty walking around the school, I'd say, "What am I doing here?" One tries to establish certain environments in one's home and the contrast in a place where you spend so many of your waking hours is depressing'.

Interviewer: 'What goes along with physically poor conditions in your mind?'

David: 'Partly an attitude of the staff and then the kids not really valuing what is going on in that place. That's a function of lack of values. Then kids tend not to have confidence in the place. Confidence in an institution, that it knows where it's heading, that it's got some sort of likelihood of achieving certain goals, is very important' (II, p.2.).

In the light of these comments it is hardly surprising that David contemplated joining a private school. He could have stayed in the State system and been successful, become a principal. What did that mean to him?

> 'Now I simply saw too many D.P.s making sure the rubbish bins were in the right place and abusing kids about silly things like coloured socks and making minimal educational input. And the same would be true of the Principal's position. I really feel that I would not be prepared to take on a Principal's position unless I had control over staffing' (I, p.22).

He would not have any control over staffing.

This was what he had to say about why most people become teachers.

> 'It's very secure. The income is not bad, holidays are good, quite a lot of them are the second income earner in the family, a lot teach for no other reason other than to carpet the house or to replace the car which doesn't fit very nicely with professional development' (II, pp.7-8).

These then were the frustrations of David located in Clusters 3 and 5 (Fig. 2). In the private school he felt of value.

> 'I find that (coming to the private school) satisfying in the sense that I've made myself marketable and won a position on my merits' (II, p.10).

He has no regrets about leaving the State system. He asks of inspectors in the Education Department (who expressed regret that he was leaving the State system)

> 'You tell me what were my options, and if you don't like that happening to people like me what are you going to do about it? I've waited 13 years for the Ed. Dept. to change, to generate excitement, to increase professionalism, performance in schools, quality, and it hasn't come' (II, p.10).

On this section of the portrayal David commented

> 'I felt I owed nothing to the Department for my driving force, professionalism and self-image. Happier in free enterprise system with its excitement and reward (even if it meant lack of security). Security equals lethargy and lack of drive.'

David never actually talked about a sense of responsibility, but the feeling that he should be accountable to somebody for being a competent teacher does come across as in some of his comments about his new Independent school job. It is almost as if he is comparing himself with the lawyer or doctor he might have been.

Speaking of the commitment from students and parents he commented

> 'Yes, that increases my sense of obligation to the parents and through the parents to their children and you can bring that back to the financial commitments that they make. They're paying $1500 a year basic fees. When I put myself in that position I know that I'd want something for my money too. So one tries to lift one's performance. You just don't have kids here who act up in class, who mess around to the extent that they are destructive, so that you're worried ...' (II, p.5).

And teachers respond co-operatively, professionally.

> 'The professionalism I'm looking for in schools has very much to do with that cohesion idea of being able to share, to analyse, to discuss, to evaluate materials and then make a response that leads to improvement ...' (II, p.5).

And the result of this is that

> 'People feel professionally secure. They are orientated towards achieving the first rate and the best possible for the school ...' (II, p.4).

These quotations indicate that David sees his role at Independent school very idealistically. Most of the items in Cluster 4 represent for David an ideal state of affairs in education. He puts his present job centrally in this cluster. His development as a teacher is fairly easy to chart from Cluster 1 through Cluster 4. He himself admirably sums up the phases of his career:

> 'The happier period (initial mindless acceptance of teacher at Rural High described in Cluster 1) the crisis period, (at Suburban I and Suburban II when he realised his incompetence and lack of direction and value in what was being done), the opportunities period (at university as a tutor, when he sought to re-educate himself as a teacher), the consolidation period, (When he felt himself to be a truly professional teacher), at least that's how I perceive it all now' (II, p.15) authors' italics.

In summary, David has a real and positive sense of development and growth as a teacher. It is perhaps illuminating that as somebody making an effort in the State school system to feel worthwhile as a teacher, he felt isolated, whereas in a private school he found his professional enthusiasm recognised and rewarded.

Jim and David in miniature - some reckless comments

Jim is an existentialist. He doesn't emphasize assessment, success, status, or compliancy, but the actual experience of teaching. His view of the system is negative. He contrasts it with people, Mrs Grey for example, whom he sees as a real living creative person. She becomes his model of a teacher, a caring, nurturing figure who befriends children in the process of educating them. All of Jim's schools are in the same cluster, indicating that he has not really changed his basic view of teaching. He has always been a unionist, (though less so now), always political, always romantically involved with being a teacher. This was why he emphasizes personal relationships as the centre of teaching.

> 'Why I like teaching Humanities is because I don't have to teach a certain body of facts. In other words I can involve the people and that's part of the pleasure of being a teacher. It reflects my ideas of Humanities as teaching people'.

The most satisfying teaching experiences have been warm, supportive, open working relationships, not pragmatically for personal advancement and

professional development, but for the experiences themselves. This caused him to overemphasize personal relationships - they became too intense, too personal, too unrelated to the practice of teaching, so that at one stage it actually restricted the process of efficient teaching.

One cannot overlook the fact that Jim set out to revolutionize the system. All his energy is spent in doing this, whereas David's energy was directed towards changing him. David got upset because the physical conditions in the schools affected himself. Jim got upset because of the way the physical conditions affected the children and the school itself. But this was wearing, tiring. He could not keep it up and now he is trying to minimize his concern, to turn inwards and ask himself where he, Jim, is actually going. He admits he is in a crisis.

A major difference between our two teachers is that David considers himself a success and Jim considers himself a failure in spite of the fact that his colleagues hold him in high regard. Why does David consider himself as successful? He does so basically because he can get others to think of him as valuable and important. Certainly early in his career he was very self-critical, calling himself 'mindless', 'inferior' and 'not knowing what to do'. At the same time others did not see him in this light. He was elected on to the Secondary [Humanities] Teachers Committee and invited to be a tutor at a university. David's failure was that he considered himself socially unimportant. His professional development involved pragmatically confronting the task of making a contribution that would be seen as worthwhile in others' eyes. Nevertheless David was a genuinely committed teacher. Thus professional development did not only mean social advancement but also having the techniques to stimulate children and make them learn. These techniques he felt he did not have - he needed others to give them to him. Thus David was drawn outwards, both for his own social advancement and educationally: that is, both for

prestige and for teaching ideas and skills. In actual teaching he likes task-oriented, supportive teachers actively and communally trying to forward the teaching process. In the private school he has this sense of competence and control whereas in the State system he sees teachers as merely surviving. Control and competence involves social co-operation. He actually says, 'You cannot create as an individual. You run out of ideas.' The State system he sees as leaving teachers in an isolated position. At the independent school he feels secure and embedded in a small group of mutually supportive teachers.

There was a crucial turning point in his career - going to Suburban II high school in 1975. Until that point he had taken the soft option in his view at every stage; becoming a teacher, getting a B.Ed. and then an M.Ed. in Educational History which he found easy, instead of something challenging. Taking the soft option was for him stagnation. Being sufficiently confident enough to join the [Humanities] Committee, to talk as an equal with people like Rob, the university Methods lecturer, and subsequently contribute as a consultant, he now saw himself as mature. He consolidated this sense of maturity by applying for a job in the private school and by getting the job proved to himself that he was valuable and merit-worthy. 'I felt that I had never really earned anything on my own merits'. Being unable to prove oneself leads to a sense of mediocrity. From 1975 onward he saw himself as joining a network of people who are the hub of Humanities teachers. He had stopped being a compliant student occupying a seat in the back row and became somebody who had gained a sense of being task-oriented, competent and confident. He had realised that one does not develop by joining the paper chase for diplomas but, for example, by getting an Humanities Department to function efficiently. He has stopped being a passive receiver of ideas and become an active learner of

how to teach his subject. This happened by linking himself to small groups of active innovating teachers. In 1972 the first seeds were sewn. 'Jimmy Britton's visit in 1972 was the first turning point'. David is not an idealist but an apolitical pragmatist who places emphasis on professionalism and competence..

AFTERWORD

We have presented portrayals because we felt that in this way we might see from the inside a teacher's experience and development. We tried to attend to the particularities and details. Reported facts, incidents, and feelings have to be interpreted by the hearer and there is a uniqueness in the way every hearer hears. Details should therefore enrich the possible messages available to the reader. Equally importantly they enable the subjects, Jim and David, to make public some of the private experiences which form the context of their world. The work is essentially unfinished because whoever looks at these portrayals necessarily must finish them for themselves.

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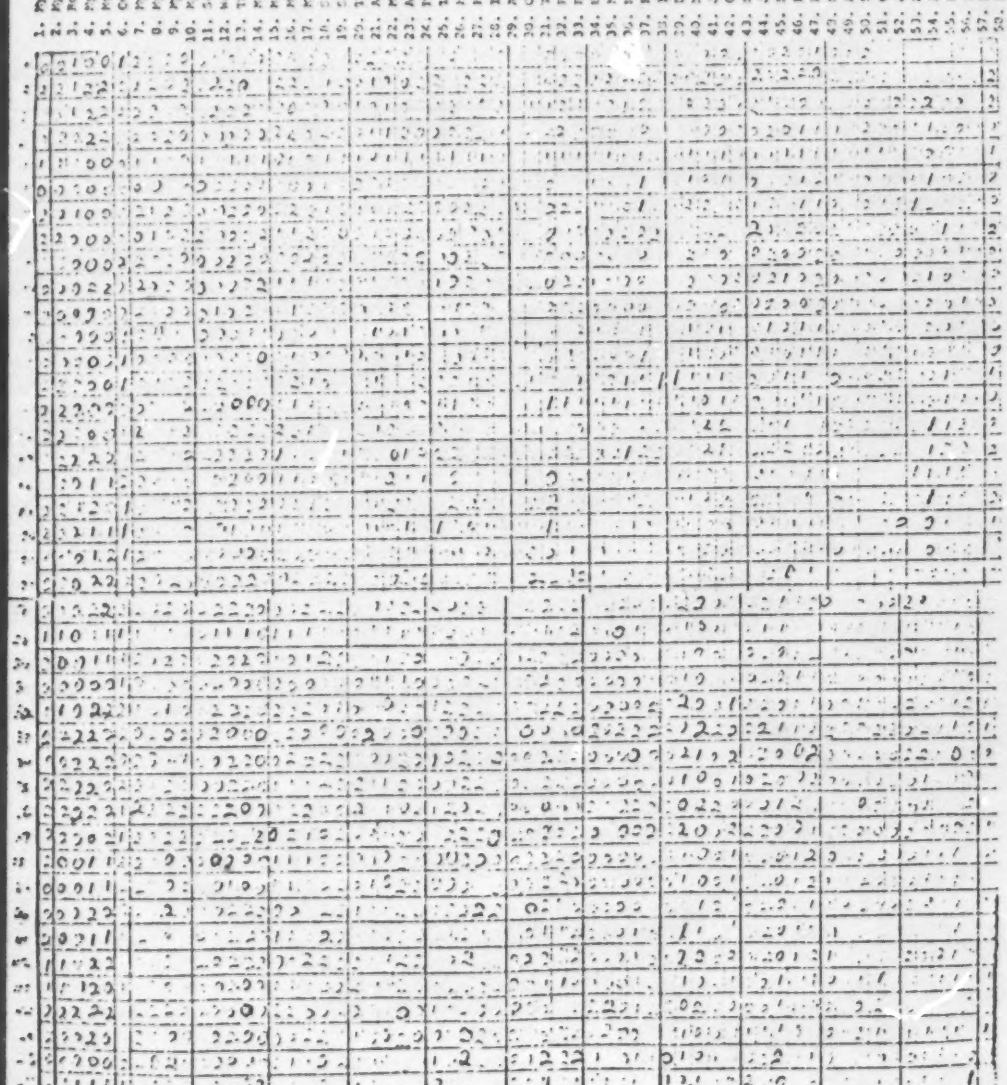
APPENDIX I


1. Myself at Rural H.S.
2. Myself as Co-Ordinator at Rural H.S.
3. Pon Law
4. Myself doing B.Ed.
5. Myself doing M.Ed.
6. Consequence of not doing academic work after Rural H.S.
7. Myself at Suburban I H.S.
8. My family/home life
9. Myself at Suburban II as P.O.R.
10. Myself as Methods tutor at Uni.
11. Secondary English Committee
12. Making outside the school setting
13. The Department
14. Myself at Suburban III H.S. as Senior Teacher
15. Myself as a consultant
16. My high school
17. My parents
18. Citizenship
19. School staff meetings - out of school time
20. Diathetic thinking about having to do the shopping, feed the cat,
21. Assessment (of pupils)
22. Myself doing M.Ed. or Law
23. Assessment (of teacher)
24. People who are not interested or competent
25. The network who are the Dept of English: 'the Heavies'
26. First application for a job in private school
27. Pub - the Methods Lecturer
28. In the school situation
29. Administration areas
30. Curriculum design work
31. Term meeting
32. People who do in-service programs
33. Being a deputy principal
34. Being a principal
35. My faculty at Suburban II H.S.
36. Soil
37. Project "children" at Suburban II H.S.
38. Inspectors (with respect to me)
39. Co-author, a Faculty Handbook at Suburban III H.S.
40. Husband
41. Josie
42. Conditions in average state school
43. My personal development
44. Jimmy Britton
45. School setting
46. Projects with teachers at X and Y school as a consultant
47. Authority approach to consultancy
48. My job at Independent School
49. Auxiliary (admin.) services
50. No control over staffing
51. Curriculum field
52. Jim
53. Myself in the late 1950's
54. Prof. Assoc. for Teaching English Conference
55. Meeting close colleagues socially
56. In-service activities
57. My wife
58. Seeing my children at their
59. Thinking about leaving teaching
60. Carry
61. My decision to resign

1. relatively easy
2. worrying
3. was decided for me
4. sense of development
5. good at school
6. secure
7. prestigious
8. frustrating professionally
9. aiming at the first rate
10. things getting better
11. a higher degree of professionalism in schools
12. consistently conscientious and competent
13. having talent
14. lonely
15. can't find anything satisfying to do now
16. selfish
17. having a sense of direct personal gain (financ
18. having the equipment to carry out my aims
19. needing people to direct me
20. knowing what projects in English are going on
21. helping others - enrichment of other people
22. doing something exciting
23. getting out of rut/routine
24. negative influence on professional developmen
25. result of individual initiative
26. irrelevant, i.e. of no personal interest
27. giving
28. satisfying
29. the only ideas we've had for a few years
30. sense of building cohesion
31. part of me
32. having an on-going commitment to
33. bitter about frustrations from this
34. an avenue for my own development
35. getting the whole act together
36. draining of myself
37. building up over the long term
38. opportunity to develop an appropriate curric
39. broadening of teaching repertoire/options
40. been a catalyst for me
41. showing they can produce aims/materials/ etc.
42. impress me
43. responsive to a good argument for something
44. grumbles
45. having recognition
46. able to get involved beyond the routine of s
47. opportunities for faculty meetings without f
48. talk about/share ideas